





#### **CAPACITY BUILDING**

#### OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

AT THE LOCAL LEVEL W



Disclaimer: The views expressed in this paper are solely of GERMIN and can under no circumstances be considered as the views of National Endowment for Democracy.

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#### **List of Acronyms**

LAAK The Alliance for the Future of Kosovo

BPRG Balkan Policy Research Group

CSO Civil Society Organization

D4D Democracy for Development

EU European Union

LDK The Democratic League of Kosovo

LVV The Self-determination Movement

**NED National Endowment for Democracy** 

PDK The Democratic Party of Kosovo

**UN United Nations** 

USAID United States Agency for International Development

#### **Project description**

LThe project "Cooperation between Kosovo and Diaspora: Capacity Building of Women in Politics at the Local Level" is a one-year project supported by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). GERMIN remains dedicated to fostering collaboration between Kosovo and its diaspora, aiming to advance the development and democratization of Kosovo and the connection of the Albanian Diaspora with their country of origin. As such, the respective project stands on the nexus of multiple goals of GERMIN as it aims to bring together diaspora professionals with women in politics at the local level through a variety of capacity building activities. Specifically, the project aims to empower women in politics at the local level.

Considering the findings of a contextual analysis, GERMIN designed a project which focused on seven (7) municipalities, namely Shtime, Istog, Vushtrri, Suhareka, Lipjan, Rahovec and Podujeva. In total, forty-three (43) women, representatives of different political parties were selected as participants of the project alongside twenty-six (26) mentors from the diaspora community. The participants were categorized into two groups, (a) municipal assembly representatives, 49% of the group, and (b) candidates, 51% of the group.

The mentorship program is the core component of the project as it directly connects diaspora professionals with expertise on politics to women in politics at the local level in Kosovo.Through an adapted curriculum, the mentors and the mentees discussed a variety of topics that were deemed as relevant for the context and the position of the participants. The 26 pairs (each mentor guiding two participants) have met on monthly basis for nine 9) months.

Beyond the mentorship program, activities such as thematic meetings and training covering a wide range of topics such as culture, youth and sport, gender equality, internal migration,mental health, public administration, and others, were held throughout the year. The last phase of the project includes a bigger scale conference and this report that aim to tailor together the lessons learned, challenges, best practices, and the progress achieved by the project.

### Aim and approach of the report

This report aims to explore and understand the experiences and needs of women who are involved in politics at the local level either as municipal assembly representatives or potential candidates. While the report looks at macro processes and policies that shape women`s participation and representation in politics, it is more precisely concerned with the experiences of women in seven (7) municipalities which have been involved in the project. As stated, the municipalities are Istog, Shtime, Podujeve, Rahovec, Lipjan, Vushtrri and Suhareka. The participants are representatives of the bigger political parties in Kosovo, namely LVV, LDK, PDK, AAK and NISMA.

#### The report more specifically aims to:

- Examine current policies and key documents on the political party and local government level that regulate women`s participation in electoral and political processes.
- Explore the importance of programs that focus on capacity building of women politicians at the local level and the importance of collaboration, and
- Bring forward practical recommendations for all key stakeholders such as political parties, and civil society.

These overall goals of the report are achieved through desk research and data collected through pre-and-post-project surveys with project participants. Reports from international and national organizations have been utilized as secondary data for the purposes of this report. The data on political parties has been accessed through their official platforms such as websites and social media.

### General and contextual overview

Women's active participation in politics is one of the core preconditions for gender equality. As it is widely argued that equal participation in political processes is crucial in achieving justice overall, attaining gender equality in political processes has become a central goal of many governments around the world, and of international organizations likewise.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, is one of the first key documents of high political importance that names the right to participate in political life vis-à-vis government as one piece of the puzzle of gender equality. The Declaration was then followed by a series of other documents signed by United Nations (UN) member states throughout the years, such as the World Plan of Action in Mexico City in 1975, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1979 to the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action to later a specific target of 30 percent women in decision making positions (Krook & mp; Norris, 2014). Today, the full and effective participation of women and access to equal opportunities for leadership positions at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life is also one of the Sustainable Development Goals targets. United Nations lists the proportion of seats held by women in (a) national parliaments and (b) local governments as one of the two indicators which will help countries to measure their progress towards gender equality.

While the importance of women`s participation in political processes is unquestionable, the approaches towards achieving this equal and substantial participation vary from country to country and are closely interlinked to the political and social history, local culture, and practices to some extent. However, three approaches stand out as the main avenues to achieving gender equality in political representation, namely (a) through gender quotas, (b)through parties and (c) through social norms (United States Agency for International

Development, 2021). Nayar (2021) argues that gender quotas can take three forms: the form of reserved seats, meaning that a certain number of seats would be reserved for female candidates and are incontestable; legislative candidate quotas meaning that political parties

are required to nominate women for seats to be directly elected; and lastly, as seats which are to be allocated voluntarily by political parties.

A report on women's participation at the local level politics published by USAID names that Kosovo is one of about 136 countries globally that utilizes a gender quota as an affirmative action to achieve a minimum level of representation by women in both the national and local assemblies. The reserved gender quota system is prescribed in the Law on General Elections in the Republic of Kosovo which in its Article 27.1 requires from the political entities to have at least 30% female candidates in their candidate lists with one candidate from each gender included at least once in each group of three candidates, counting from the first candidate in the list. The law further requires that at least 30% of the elected officials are of the less represented gender. Likewise, the Law on Local Elections reflects the same principle which obliges political entities to ensure the representation of women in electoral lists. Equal representation in all legislative, executive and judiciary bodies and other public institutions is also prescribed in the Law on Gender Equality. Democracy for Development (2016) argues that the latter law, however, has been seen as optional by political parties as it does not provide sanctions or mechanisms to ensure full compliance from their side. Moreover, discrepancies between the two laws are existent but remain unsolved yet, as the Law on Gender Equality calls for 50% representation of women on all structures and levels while the Law on General Elections calls for 30% representation.

Statistically speaking, Kosovo has marked progress in women's representation in the National Assembly. In the 2021 parliamentary elections, Viosa Osmani-Sadriu was the most voted politician, not only in these elections but in the history of elections in Kosovo. Furthermore, in the 120-seat National Assembly, 43 representatives are women (prior to the assigning of Ministries), surpassing as such the gender quota of 30%. On the Government level, out of 15 ministries, 5 are led by women. It is important to note, however, that while the numerical representation of women in the National Assembly and in the Government of Kosovo has increased, women face a variety of political, economic, and cultural issues and challenges. Discrimination within political entities in the process of human and financial resource allocation during the election campaign, political and misogynistic attacks on media/social media, underrepresentation on media, lack of transparency within political entities, lack of access to decision making positions are only some of the issues that women politicians face (Zogjani, 2021; United States Agency for International Development, 2021).

### Women`s representation in municipal assemblies

UN Women (2021) argues that globally women`s representation in central governments has received much more attention in comparison to women`s representation in local level politics,hence, resulting in a major knowledge gap on women`s political engagement as a whole. The discursive and practical inclusion of local level politics and women`s representation in the SDG goals and indicators, has however signified a need for more concentrated research and higher importance attached to increasing women`s participation in politics at the local level, in the last years.

The representation of women on the central level has increased steadily worldwide throughout the years but the same argument is not valid for lower levels of government. The same trends are noticeable in Kosovo, as the representation of women in electoral and political processes on the local level and their active participation in municipal assemblies and local governments remains lower in comparison to the central level. The harsh reality of women`s political participation in local politics in Kosovo was emphasized in the last municipal elections in October 2021 when only 8 percent of mayoral candidates were women, namely 14 candidates in total. The EU Election Observation Mission report on Municipal Elections states that out of the 14 candidates, only two women were elected. In terms of candidacy for the municipal assemblies, in 38 municipalities, a total of 1,937 women(37 percent) ran for municipal assemblies and only 36 of them (12 percent) headed their lists.364 women were elected (36 per cent) - 221 elected through the votes received (61 per cent of all women elected) and 143 due to the quota mechanism (39 per cent of all women elected) (United States Agency for International Development, 2021).

As the report is concerned with 7 municipalities particularly, it is important to note the number of seats that each municipal assembly holds (decided in proportion with the number of residents in the municipality) and the number of women representatives.

Municipality	Number of seats	Number of women representatives
Istog	27	10
Shtime	21	7
Suhareka	32	12
Podujeva	35	12
Vushtrri	35	11
Lipjan	31	11
Rahovec	31	11

Table 1: Municipal assemblies in the seven (7) targeted municipalities and women`s representation.

In these municipalities, women`s representation based on gender quota also varies a lot. The following infographics, visualize the fluctuating trends in the two last municipal elections in these municipalities.

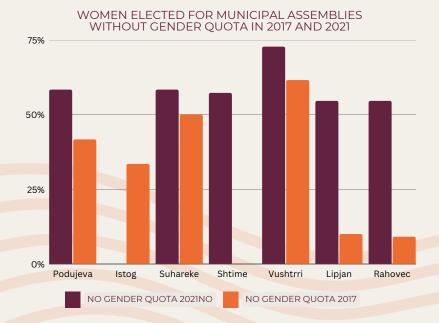


Chart 1: Women`s Election for Municipal Assemblies without Gender Quota in 2021 and 2017

#### WOMEN`S ELECTION FOR MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLIES WITH GENDER QUOTA IN 2021 AND 2017



Chart 2: Women`s Election for Municipal Assemblies with Gender Quota in 2021 and 2017

The above comparison of women's elections for municipal assemblies based on gender quota shows big fluctuations in some of the municipalities between the two elections in 2017 and 2021. While these charts visualize the numerical trends in women's representation in municipal assemblies in the respective municipalities, women's participation in elections and their participation generally is shaped by many external factors. One can argue that considering the context, women's low participation and/or election is closely interlinked to the patriarchal norms that are embedded in the regulation of the political, social, and cultural life in Kosovo.

These norms and practices can be evident in political parties as well, in their statutes, regulations, day-to-day operations, and their internal nominations and election processes. Hence, the following sections focuses on four main political parties that the participants are members of, and how they address gender equality in their statutes, executive bodies, and other internal structures.

# The engagement of political parties in achieving gender equality

The engagement of political parties towards achieving gender equality is not limited to electoral lists vis-à-vis legal obligations that require a minimum of 30% of women in electoral lists. Instead, their efforts must extend to equal access to opportunities, equal representation in governing bodies and structures within the political party and in all levels, equal access to financial and human resources in electoral processes, access to capacity building and advancement and so forth. The reports on local elections from USAID (2021) and EU (2021) argue that while political parties in Kosovo legally fulfil their obligations in terms of gender quota, their lists remain overwhelmingly male dominated and gender inequality within their structures and processes remains unaddressed.

The majority of the participants in the survey, however, consider that their political party is engaged in advancing gender equality within the party itself. The answers are as it follows:

DO YOU CONSIDER THAT YOUR POLITICAL ENTITY IS ENGAGED IN ADVANCING GENDER EQUALITY WITHIN THE ENTITY ITSELF?

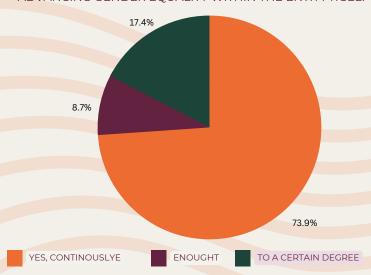


Chart 3: Engagement of political parties in advancing gender equality.

Amongst those that share the opinion that their political party is engaged in advancing gender equality, initiatives from and general principles of the political party are listed as reasons behind the opinion. Some of the participants mention that the respective political party has women committees or groups within the party, a few argue that their political party aims to promote women in executive positions or includes them in electoral lists and so forth Members of LDK for instance name the Women`s Forum as the tool that the party has for women's emancipation and advancement of gender equality. Others from PDK mention a new initiative of the party to achieve 50:50 representation until 2025, and members of LVV argue that their political party has always strived for gender equality. There is, however, a sentiment which even though shared by fewer participants, signifies a substantial avenue of thought, namely that while there is a discourse of women's empowerment and gender equality, when it boils down to practical support, men are usually prioritized within the party. While it is a difficult task to interpret the experiences and narratives of others or restrain from generalizing them, it is important to pay attention to the more marginalized opinions as well.

In terms of gender equality as a discourse, policy, or cross cutting issue, all respondents agree that their political parties address it in their statutes. This could involve gender quota, policies for higher representation of women in the party`s structures or other forms. However, research into the political parties` official platforms proves differently as gender equality is an ambiguous sentiment at best. In regard to the efforts of each political party in terms of gender equality, we briefly look at the initiatives and statutory approaches of each political party below.

In 2022, PDK held a Programmatic Convention for the Democratic Woman of Kosovo in which the goal to achieve a 50:50 representation in internal structures of the political party was announced. The party also has the Democratic Woman group listed as a part of the political party's bodies. Nevertheless, the practical approach to achieving this goal is unclear as is the mission, work, and strategy of the Democratic Woman group. PDK`s official website does not provide any further information or clarification on neither of the issues and the leadership of the DW group is unclear. The statute of the party in its articles, such as article 25 and 33, mentions the automatic participation of the leader of the DW group in other governing bodies of the party. Lastly, it is worth noting that news found on media, report that the Democratic Woman group with PDK has ceased to exist. Such information is not shared in the party`s official platforms and is contradictory to their statute with still recognizes DW as a body. Beyond that, it is difficult to access any additional information about the party`s work on gender equality internally or externally via its official platforms, while there is no mention of gender equality, gender quota or any other measures in its statute.

AAK`s official website does not allow for the party`s statute to be accessed. Likewise, it does not provide any information on the structures of the party and its membership, apart from claiming that the party is known for its high representation of women and youth. The only accessible higher-level document is AAK`s Election Program 2021-2025 which under the economic component, lists financial subventions for women as one of the more marginalized groups of society. While there are scattered news articles and Facebook pages of Women`s Forums of the party in different municipalities, such as the Women`s Forum in Istog, there is no structured and accessible information about the party`s official and strategic engagement for gender equality.

However, according to BPRG`s report on gender inequality in politics and decision making in Kosovo from 2019, since the approval of the new statute in 2018,AAK foresees that all elected bodies of the party must have a 30% participation of women. The report further mentions that at the time of the report, this rule was not being respected as the directorate of the party only had 12 women as members out of 60 members in total, namely less than 30%. Likewise, none of the 35 branches of the party was being led bywomen. It is important to note that these information might have been subject to change but could not be confirmed on the party`s official platform.

LDK has Women's Forum as part of its structures. It is important to note that the Women`s Forum is not listed as a body in the party`s official statute but rather as a forum under the Article 38.2. The statute further says that the Forum is organized on the central level, branches, and subbranches. Specific information on the Forum is not available on the website, such as their statute, strategic plan, or approach, however, news articles on their official website or social media, or other media are available on a scattered matter. The history of the party provided on the website, acknowledges ethnic, gender and religious identity when claiming that the party is engaged in ensuring full judicial and political justice for all citizens despite their identity or background. Furthermore, the Directorate of the party has five men in the highest positions and no women. Respective names of women are listed as members of the party`s directorate but in lower percentage in comparison to men.Likewise, according to the information provided on the website, the leaders of municipal branches of LDK are all men. Other mentions of women's representation are found in the Article 18.3 which calls for municipal branches to ensure female and youth`s representation in party`s assembly elections. Furthermore, Article 29.3 says that the head of the Women`s Forum is automatically a member of the Directorate.

As for LVV, the official website of the party remains inaccessible (as of September 2023). However, according to a report by Balkan Policy Research Group (2019) the party does not have a women's forum but regulates women's representation and engagement through the activist woman's secretariat at all levels of the party. The same report argues that women's representation at the time is lacking as women are underrepresented in comparison to men.BPRG (2019) further argues that LVV has been the only political party that has addressed maternal leave in its electoral program at the time. However, reports from media show that LVV has for the first-time held internal elections for Women's Forum, meaning that the party has established a Women's Forum as of 2022.

While this report has limitations and uses only political parties' platforms, secondary sources, and surveys with only project participants, it still goes to prove that political parties fail to address gender inequality internally as they are ambiguous at best in their statutes regarding representation of women or other actions that aim to empower women. The executive structures and bodies of the political parties also show the underrepresentation of women despite the collective rhetoric on gender equality and promises that are scarcely found in pop-up news. As argued at the start of the section, while political parties in Kosovo oblige to the respective laws on women's representation in electoral lists, their engagement in advancing gender equality further is stagnant.

## Capacity building for women politicians at the local level

As previously argued, due to the myriad of challenges that women in politics, especially at the local level face, capacity building represents an important tool and approach to ensuring higher participation of women in politics. Hence, at the beginning of the project in October 2022, the participants of the project were asked if they have ever participated in any form of training organized by their political party or civil society organizations. Most of the participants claimed that they have never participated in training organized by their political party before, with only a low percentage claiming that they have participated in training a limited number of times.

At the end of the project, participants were asked again if they have participated in training or other activities organized by their political party on the local or central level, the municipal assembly or civil society organizations, since the beginning of the project. The chart below visualizes participants responses for each category.

#### PARTICIPATION ON TRAINING OR OTHER ACTIVITIES ORGANIZED BY ONE OF THE ABOVE (SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE PROJECT)

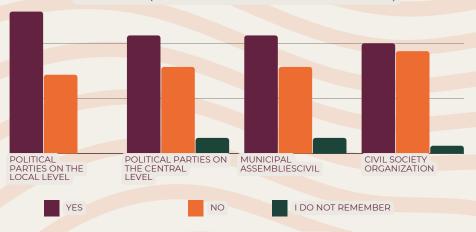


Chart 4: Participation in training or other activities.

The findings of the survey show that a higher percentage of participants have participated in some training or other capacity building activity organized by one of the four stakeholders in the last year. It is interesting to note that the same batch of participants claim that they have participated in all sorts of activities, organized by a variety of stakeholders, while the same stands for those that have not participated in any activity as well. This could signify certain dynamics within the political parties or the municipal assemblies such as stronger networking amongst certain candidates, repetition of recommendations from the branches as to who should participate, higher focus on current municipal assembly representatives in comparison to potential candidates etc. Another interesting element is the nature of the training or activities that participants have listed in their responses. For example, activities that have been organized by the political parties be that on the local or central level, are mostly periodical meetings of the party or election meetings which considering the purposes of this report, we do not categorize as capacity building activities. Differently from political parties, activities organized by civil society organizations that are listed by the respondents are training on public speaking, women`s rights, gender budgeting and others. Even though limited in number, these data show that political parties and local institutions do not see gender equality as a priority or cross cutting issue and neither do they have the empowerment of women through capacity building as a goal on the local or central level. The majority of the respondents also expressed that they need and want more capacity building training and other forms of activities from their municipal assemblies and their political parties, specifically focused on gender equality, gender budgeting, networking and cooperation.

## Capacity building through and with diaspora professionals

As emphasized in the project description, an important component of the project implemented by GERMIN has been the mentorship program through which participants were mentored by diaspora professionals. Prior to their participation in this project, the majority of the participants did not have an opportunity to collaborate with or participate in capacity building programs with diaspora professionals, as seen in the chart below.

#### COLLABORATION WITH DIASPORA PROFESSIONALS

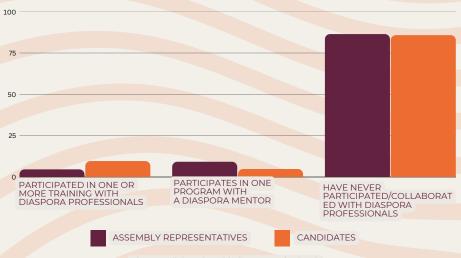


Chart 5: Collaboration with diaspora professionals

# The engagement of political parties in achieving gender equality

GERMIN believes that by engaging diaspora professionals in mentorship programs or other initiatives, it can foster collaboration, facilitate the exchange of best practices and the share of knowledge which is beneficial for both mentees and mentors. As stated in the project description, participants have been mentored by diaspora professionals on a variety of topics such as navigation of local and global politics, election preparation, networking and connections, community needs etc. As the collaboration with the diaspora community is one of the core approaches of GERMIN, the participants were asked to evaluate the impact of the mentorship program. The responses are as it follows:

#### HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE MENTORSHIP APPROACH?

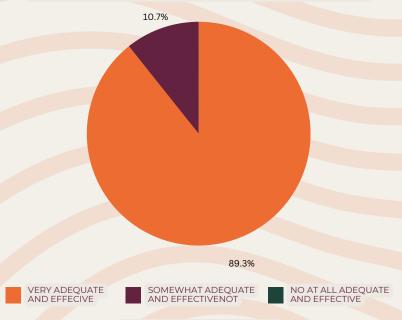


Chart 6: Mentorship approach evaluation

Beyond the fact that the majority evaluate the mentorship approach as adequate and effective, as high as 82.14% of the participants also agree that they have learned and acquired good practices from the diaspora which they aim to apply in their municipality. Likewise, all the participants aim to maintain contact with their respective mentors from diaspora and see the maintaining of contact as valuable.

Lastly, for the purposes of this report, GERMIN has consulted 3 mentors that have been involved in the project regarding women's participation in the project and their engagement generally. While the experiences of the mentors have varied, the mentors noted that women in politics at the local level in Kosovo face multiple challenges both in their political parties and generally in the political sphere. However, it is crucial to note that the mentors encourage women to also meaningfully participate in projects and capacity-building opportunities and grasp the practices and lessons shared in such opportunities. It is noticeable that many women hesitate to participate in capacity-building opportunities or fully engage in activities that are designed to their benefit. While it is hard to determine the reasons behind such a phenomenon within the scope of this report, GERMIN believes that the localization of women's participation in politics at the local level within a patriarchal society can facilitate our understanding of the situation. Thus, further research is necessary to draw conclusions on women's low interest and engagement in capacity-building opportunities.

#### **Conclusions**

This report has briefly examined and evaluated the current situation of women's representation in politics at the local level in Kosovo, with a particular focus on seven (7) municipalities included in the project. Based on reports from different international and national organizations, it is evident that women in Kosovo remain under-represented at all levels of politics, especially on the local level. While the legal framework of Kosovo is advanced in terms of the inclusion of the principle of gender equality, the application of those laws is lacking. The under-representation of women in politics could be attributed to multiple factors that are contextual, such as the patriarchal culture and norms, lack of general trust in women`s participation in politics due to preconceived ideas about gender, lack of accessibility to opportunities for women etc. However, these ideas and norms are often upheld by and embedded in political parties as well, which leads to lack of practical support for women within political parties before and during elections, under-representation in political parties` structures, failure to address gender inequalities and biases in internal processes and so forth. This is even more evident in smaller municipalities, such as the ones included in this report.

This report further shows that while political parties generally respect the Law on General Elections and the Law on Local Elections by ensuring a representation of at least 30% of women in electoral lists, their efforts in addressing gender inequalities through other policies or initiatives hit a wall. Gender identity vis-à-vis gender inequality is not addressed in political parties` statutes, gender quotas as affirmative actions are generally not a practice, and concrete strategies on achieving and/or advancing gender equality internally are lacking. Lastly, the report shows that information on political parties` approach to and work towards gender equality are not accessible and rather the rhetoric on gender equality is scattered over pop-up news.

The report is also concerned with the capacity building for women involved in politics at the local level. The report shows that political parties are not active in providing capacity-building training for women before or during elections and are rather focused in providing ad-hoc events and activities. In terms of capacity-building opportunities provided by civil society organizations, the participants of the project report higher access to these opportunities. However, the survey shows that participation in such opportunities is limited to a certain group who participate in multiple activities while another percentage does not benefit or have only participated a limited number of times in comparison to the other group.

#### Recommendations

Based on the findings of this report, GERMIN has extracted the following recommendations for the main stakeholders:

#### To political parties:

- In line with the Law on Gender Equality and principles of gender equality embedded in Kosovo`s legal framework, political parties should take an active role in ensuring and advancing gender equality within their structures. Such goals could be achieved by conducting gender analysis internally that can help political parties dentify their shortcomings and needs, include affirmative actions such as gender quotas or otherinitiatives in their statutes and other key regulations.
- Political parties should work more actively in addressing the
  underrepresentation ofwomen in their leading structures, with a higher
  focus on their municipal branches, through concrete policies.
  Characteristics of the respective municipality should be taken into
  consideration as well, for example the percentage of non-majority
  communities in the municipality.
- Political parties should launch practical and strategic policies and initiatives that aim to break the social, cultural, and political barriers that women face and hence, become more accessible for women at all levels of governance.
- Political parties should provide capacity building training and other opportunities for women, especially women from smaller municipalities that tend to be excluded from such opportunities.
- Political parties should increase their transparency regarding electoral campaign financing, both to their members and representatives and the wider public; and strive to support women during electoral campaign through allocation of both financial and human resources.

#### To civil society organizations:

- CSOs should increase their focus on women in politics at the local level and strive to support smaller municipalities that are considerably left behind.
- CSOs should strive to adapt their programs and approaches to the contextual needs of women.
- CSOs should focus their efforts in designing sustainable projects that keep women engaged over longer periods of time rather than short and/or one time engagement/participation.
- Collaboration among diverse stakeholders and/or target groups should become a stronger focus of CSO programs, such as collaboration between women of different political parties, between women and professionals of different industries or expertise, and so forth.
- An intersectional approach to project designing, especially for participants selection, should become a core element for CSOs that ensures that beneficiaries of all genders, ethnicities, socio-economic statuses, sexual identities and so on are actively included and represented.

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